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VOL. XXII, No. 25

MONDAY, MAY 6, 1929

WHOLE No. 609



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AFFECTION FOR CHILDREN AMONG THE ROMANS

The humaneness of a nation is exemplified in its views of children and in its treatment of them. Were the Romans as a race noticeably susceptible to tender emotions in regard to their children, or are we to accept with all its ruthless implications the *patria potestas*? Because Roman law gave to the father the power of life and death over his child¹, are we to infer a universal grimness, an abnormally cold devotion to abstract law untempered by human feelings?² To these questions we can find a fairly complete answer, so far as the circumstances allow, in the revelations made by the body of extant literature³.

Frequent mention of children would not, of course, in itself imply any deep feeling about them, but such mention will at least signify an interest in children. Certain kinds of allusions to child life, however, will assuredly be proof of warm and sympathetic feelings concerning children.

Chief mention is due to Ascanius, son of Aeneas⁴. Vergil describes him by contrast, by a single epithet (1.659 *pro dulci Ascanio*), by a hint, by omissions. Vergil is gentle over the picture he draws (4.354); the touches are all evidently his own emotional reactions to the portrayal. When Aeneas witnesses Priam's fate, on his mind flashes an image of his father, his wife, and his little son, *parvi casus Iuli* (2.563). When he is at last ready to go forth from Troy, then, placing his father on his shoulders, he beckons his son (2. 710-711): *Mihi parvus Iulus sit comes*. . . Aeneas is, normally, concerned about his boy; compare 1.

¹Compare Valerius Maximus 5.8.2; Cassius filium. . . domi damnavit verberibusque affectum necari iussit; Livy 2.41.10-12; Sallust, Bellum Catilinum 39: Fuere tamen extra coniurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt, in his A. Fulvius, senatoris filius, quem retractum ex itinere parens necari iussit. On the other hand, note the whimsical discussion by Aulus Gellius (2.7.1-19) of the duties of children toward parents, particularly the duty of obedience.

²Virginius begged forgiveness, says Livy (3.50.5), for slaying his daughter: Supinas deinde tendens manus, commilitones appellans orabat ne quod scelus Ap. Claudii esset sibi attribuerent, neu se ut parricidam liberum aversarentur. Sibi vitam filiae sua cariorum fuisse, si liberae ac pudicae vivere licitum fuisset.

³Of course Dr. Wedeck's paper does not profess to be exhaustive, or even very searching. Many readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY ought, however, to be stimulated by it to make like studies for themselves, and to add thereby to the passages collected by Dr. Wedeck. That very much remains to be gathered may be seen e.g. by a study of the paper named in this note, and in those mentioned below, in notes 4-7.

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 11. 57-59, 65-66, under the caption, Dr. Dutton's Reflections on Re-Reading Vergil, I gave, with comments, an abstract of a paper which Dr. Emily H. Dutton, then Professor of Latin and Greek at Tennessee College, now at Sweet Briar College, Virginia, read as a Presidential Address at the annual meeting of the Tennessee Philological Association, on February 25, 1916. This address was published in a pamphlet of thirty pages; unhappily the pamphlet is not readily accessible. On pages 58 and 65 of my paper will be found interesting and valuable material on the topic discussed by Dr. Wedeck.

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22. 120, Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., gave a very brief hint of the contents of an article entitled Babies in Ancient Literature, by Mr. W. B. Sedgwick, which appeared in Nineteenth Century and After, in September last. C. K. >.

⁴See a paper entitled Ascanius, the Boy, by Professor H. O. Ryder, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 10.210-214. C. K. >.

646, *Omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis*. Venus bids Cupid simulate Ascanius, whom she designates as the object of her deepest concern—*mea maxima cura* (1.678). There is the implication of a universal concern for children in Mercury's rebuke to Aeneas (4.272-276):

Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum
nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
debentur.

Surely, thinks Mercury, the reference to his son will fire the dallying father into action.

Aeneas, in a vision, hears Anchises cry (5.724), Nate, mihi vita quondam, dum vita manebat, care magis. . . . Certainly Anchises's love for his son transcended death. The tense and trembling meeting of father and son among the shades (6.684-702) is further proof of that lasting bond. How piercing is the grief of the mother of Euryalus as she bewails her son (9. 481-483):

'...O late-born comfort of my old age, could you, cruel, leave me in loneliness, and was no chance granted to your hapless mother to say a last farewell to you, when you were sent to face such dire perils! Alas, in an unknown land you lie, a prey to the dogs and the birds of Latium. . . '

How vibrant with feeling, yet restrained, is Evander's lament over Pallas (11.152-181)!⁵ The vast design of Vergil's task left not much space for many such scenes in the Aeneid, but those that we have noted imply a warmth of feeling, a bond of love, between parent and son.

Ovid, like Pope, has a polished and fluent technique that sometimes displaces real feeling, but the touching lament of Daedalus (Met. 8.231-233), At pater infelix, nec iam pater, "Icare", dixit, "Icare", dixit, "ubi es? Qua re regione requiram? Icare", dicebat, recalls the vibrant Biblical wail, "O Absalom, my son, my son!" Pliny the Younger in many respects touches closely our own times, particularly in his attitude toward children. He looks indulgently upon the young, gives them a helping hand in need, and shows a kindly interest in his neighbor's boys. His native town of Comum has no school for boys, who, consequently, must be sent to Milan for schooling. Pliny therefore offers to help pay for an instructor⁶. It is best, he says (4.13.4), for children to go to a local school, under the eyes and the care of their parents. He further provides for the education of the children of free-born parents of Comus (1.8.10): . . . annuos

⁵For Aeneas's grief over the death of Pallas see my comments in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21.91-92. C. K. >.

⁶See Miss Johnston's paper, Junior Colleges, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22.72. Pliny's whole letter, 4.13, is well worth reading. C. K. >.

sumptus in alimenta ingenuorum pollicebamur... Quintilian's daughter receives a marriage portion from Pliny (6.32); compare especially § 2: *tamquam parens alter puellae nostrae confere quinquaginta milia nummum, plus collaturus, nisi a verecundia tua sola mediocritate munusculi impetrari posse confiderem ne recusares.*

Martial's pungency, the shafts of his conceits, the whims of his humor reveal only one part of his nature; they do not exclude a temperament tenderly solicitous of childhood. Martial really likes children, in a very human way, and in a very modern way, as he shows often in that almost Dickensian wistfulness of his. A young boy, a slave of his, has just died. The trees will shade him, and the meadows will be wet with Martial's tears. 'These be the memorials of my sorrow', he laments, 'this the everlasting honor to thy name' (1.88.7-8):

Accipe, care puer, nostri monumenta doloris:
hic tibi perpetuo tempore vivet honor.

Marcellinus celebrates his first shave, and Martial has manly words to say to him (3.6). A group of boys is rowing languidly, and the poet playfully comments on their slowness. 'You play', he tells them (3.67.9), 'and even then you make a sport of your very play': *tuta luditis otium carina*. The lines on Erotion, scarcely six years old when she died, ring out in the spirit of Gray, and show us a man deeply in sorrow, exposing his heart, proving his life sound at the core. 'Lightly may the sod cover her young form. Rest not ungently upon her, earth; not ungentle was she to you' (5.34.9-10):

Mollia non rigidus caespes tegat ossa, nec illi,
terra, gravis fueris: non fuit illa tibi.

In another piece he grieves over her and rebukes harsh fate. There is something very fresh, very modern, a prediction of Burns, in the softness of his epithets, and in the forthright, candid outpourings of his sorrow (5.37.15-17):

quam pessimorum lex amara fatorum
sexta peregit hieme, nec tamen tota,
nostros amores, gaudiumque, lususque.

Lucretius' is stirred to emotion in picturing a household disintegrated by death. He pictures the world as saying to a man newly dead, 'No more tender kisses of children, no more home joys will gladden your heart with a thrill of rapture' (3.894-896):

Iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta neque uxor
optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent.

A like humaneness, a like fatherly affection Cicero displays in those revealing letters where he can be himself. His dear daughter, *filiola*, is always in his thoughts, and the weight of political worries does not drive from his mind a concern for his friends' children. Another orator, another skilled rhetorician in a later

age, Quintilian, cannot refrain from that throbbing eulogy of his son that rings so true (Prooemium to Book 6, §§ 7-13): 'Have I really lost you, you, my hope, my heir, master of Attic oratory, as all hoped? Why have I survived to suffer such cruel torment?'

'Be like a mother and father in one to our children', the shade of Cornelia exhorts her husband (Propertius 4.11.75-80). 'When you give them a kiss, add mine too. The burden of the home is now on your shoulders. When you grieve, let them not see. At their approach, dry your eyes and kiss them'.

Fungere maternis vicibus, pater: illa meorum
omnis erit collo turba ferenda tuo.

Oscula cum dederis tua flentibus, adice matris:
tota domus coepit nunc onus esse tuum.

Et, si quid doliturus eris, sine testibus illis:
cum venient, siccis oscula falle genis.

The kindled passion of Catullus can alternate with tenderness, with the picture of a baby, tiny Torquatus, nestling in his mother's arms, and with half-opened mouth extending his soft hands and smiling sweetly to his father (61.209-213):

Torquatus volo parvulus
matris e gremio suae
porrigens teneras manus
dulce rideat ad patrem
semihante labello.

The helplessness of infancy appeals to Statius also. In a vivid simile (Thebais 4.787-794) he pictures the infant Opheltes as like a child crawling in the thick grass and calling his nurse and trying to utter lisping words, inhaling deeply the air and innocently disporting himself in the glades.

At puer in gremio vernae telluris et alto
gramine nunc faciles sternit procursibus herbas
in vultum nitens, caram modo lactis egeno
nutricem clangore ciens iterumque renidens,
et teneris meditant verba illuctantia labris
miratur nemorum strepitus, aut obvia carpit,
aut patulo trahit ore diem, nemorisque malorum
inscius et vitae multum securus inerrat.

Statius quite frequently alludes to the bond between parent and child. 'Why', cries Thetis (Achilleis 1.38-39), 'did I give to my Achilles when he was a child Mt. Pelion as his cradle and the caverns of a semi-human guardian?': *Quid enim cunabula parvo Pelion et torvi commisimus antra magistri?* Thetis visits the aged centaur (106). Where is her son (127)? She must see him, for awful portents assail her (129-130), and the Carpathian seer has told her what atonements are needful (135-136). Fearful of Achilles's participation in the Trojan War, she disguises her son as a girl (260-274), and sends him to Scyros. Although he is unmasked by Ulysses (866-871), the mother love of Thetis is evident in her trembling desire to shield her son at any cost, however shameful, from the terrors of war. This is the reverse side of the *patria potestas*. Here we have our own selves, Thackeray, and the Child's Garden of Verse.

Behind the *gravitas* of the Romans, then, lay very human feelings. Behind the flourish, the ostentation of *Civis Romanus sum* could be heard the voice of the

<?See a paper by Dr. Andrew S. Oliver, 'Lucretius' Attitude Toward Children,' THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 1.162-163. C. K. >.

pater familias berating his children as fathers must and at the same time loving them. Behind the relationship implied by the *patria potestas* existed a bond between father and children that was normal, wholesome, and humane.

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HARRY E. WEDECK

THE ROMAN ATTITUDE TOWARD FOREIGN INFLUENCE, PARTICULARLY TOWARD THE GREEK INFLUENCE DURING THE REPUBLIC¹

The tribal, gregarious instincts are inherent in humanity. We group ourselves in small bands that have like tendencies and like interests, and we look askance, and sometimes with fear, at groups dissimilar to ours. Extremely sensitive to this instinct were the Romans. Throughout the history of the Republic in particular, while the tenacious racial feelings still held control, and made the Romans feel bound to one unified religion and to one set of traditions and institutions, there was evident shrinking from what was not purely Roman, from outside influence, and from the encroachment of groups without the family circle. The dominant manifestation of such encroachment upon the Romans was the Greek stream that gradually grew in force until it almost submerged what was indigenous to Italy². Such imposition of one domination upon another is characteristic of all times. Seneca refers to the matter, in another connection, however, and in a somewhat different context (*Ad Helviam Matrem de Consolatione* 7.1-2):

A caelestibus aedum te ad humana converte:
videbis gentes populosque universos mutasse sedem.
Quid sibi volunt in mediis barbarorum regionibus
Graecae urbes? Quid inter Indos Persasque Mace-
donicus sermo? Scythia et totus ille ferarum indomi-
tarumque gentium tractus civitates Achaiae Ponticis
impositas litoribus ostendat. . . . Totum Italiae latus
quod infero mari adluitur maior Graecia fuit. . . .

Rome in particular, battling for life first of all, and then fighting for world-supremacy, came into contact with most of the nations of the ancient world. But its relation with Greece persisted for the longest period. That relation made itself felt as a living force, shaping Rome, modifying its outlook, changing Rome to something totally different from the primitive shepherd colony on the Tiber.

At what period did this external influence begin to manifest itself? With what feelings did the Romans regard this foreign peaceful aggression? Not before

the third century B. C. is there positive evidence of Rome coming into *direct* contact with the Greek spirit. It is true that in even earlier times, by means of communication with Cumae and other Greek colonies, the Romans had gathered some slight knowledge about the Greeks, especially about their legends and their mythology. But it was not till the war with Pyrrhus, and the fall of Tarentum in 272 B. C., one of the most flourishing Greek colonies of Lower Italy, that Rome came to be deeply affected by things Greek. The intimacy between Greece and Rome after the fall of Tarentum was facilitated by the previous familiarity, slight as it was, between Rome and the Greek towns on the Campanian coast. Henceforth, there developed that link between the two civilizations that became more and more binding and durable. The First Punic War was notably favorable to this influence, since it was fought away from Roman soil. Sicily was opened up, and afforded the Romans additional means of becoming familiar with the Greek language. After the First Punic War Greece began to play a very intimate rôle in Roman life. From all parts of the Hellenic world there poured into Rome Greek slaves and refugees, artisans and cooks, philosophers and physicians, along with that motley crowd of quacks, *circulatores* and *magi*, that are always found in the wake of great movements and upheavals.

The spirit of the newcomers took hold of the intellectual life of Rome, diffused itself, permeating philosophy and oratory, manners, education, and religion. The political citadel, however, held firm. Although Greek political theory almost inevitably affected, to some extent, expositions by Roman writers of politics and statecraft, Greek influence was neither lasting nor vital in the working of the Roman State.

Most profoundly affected was every department of literature. The indigenous literature, composed of a body of poetry that was tribal and ceremonial, comprising hymns, incantations and chants, *laudes clarorum virorum*, was crude and simple, and not deliberately fashioned for an aesthetic circle. In the generation that passed between the First Punic War and The Second Punic War, when active hostilities were suspended, material prosperity was achieved, and along with wealth and leisure came a desire and taste for recreation, for spiritual and intellectual diversion. Thus arose in Rome a leisured class that was attracted by Greek literature. This literature served as a model for Rome, suggested themes for treatment, widened the mental horizon, opened new vistas, inspired new desires. Ennius transplanted the Greek hexameter, gave Greek names, e. g. *Hedyphagetica*, to his works. Plautus and Terence, particularly Plautus, were frank adapters. The manners and the customs depicted in their plays are mainly Hellenic. Since it was difficult to begin making a mould for Latin prose, the first historians, Q. Fabius Pictor and L. Cincius Alimentus, wrote in Greek; late in the Republic, Pomponius Atticus composed an historical memoir in Greek. The immigrant was making great strides, threatening to engulf his adopted abode. The spirit of Greece must have become deep-rooted. Even in times of

¹In this paper Dr. Wedeck has aimed only to group together a selection from the more familiar passages in the Latin authors that bear upon his theme. From this point of view his paper, which reminds us in specific connections of things which we know quite well in general, has its value. Those who wish a convenient expansion of this paper, and, in some respects a correction of it, will do well to read e. g. J. W. Duff, *A Literary History of Rome From the Origins to the Close of the Augustan Age*, Chapter II, 92-117 (New York, Scribner's, 1927). C. K. >

²During the Empire, in particular, all manner of foreign and oriental influences seeped into Rome, bringing the worship of Mithras and of Isis into strange quarters, and compelling Tiberius to seek to stem the tide by his action of *sacris Aegyptiis Indaeisque pellendis* (Tacitus, *Annales* 2.85).

stress and emotion the utterance was Greek³. Scipio quoted Homer when he saw the flames of Carthage, and we have an apocryphal report that Caesar's last words were Greek. Among the more unthinking populace all this Greek dominance was more or less accepted. But here and there were feelings of resentment, of dislike, of hostility, attempts to resist the sweep and surge of this tidal wave. Cato's *Censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*⁴ was a political watchword that had its counterpart in other directions⁵.

After Cato's death the foreign influence increased in strength; it culminated in the Ciceronian age. Cicero himself translated, adapted, interpreted Greek literature⁶, culling whatever he desired. We can form a vivid picture of the intensity with which Greek studies were pursued in his age. See e. g. *Pro Archia* 5:

...Erat Italia tum plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum, studiaque haec et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur quam nunc iisdem in oppidis, et hic Romae propter tranquillitatem rei publicae non neglebantur....

This is said in a spirit that, breaking narrow national limitations, is willing and ready to embrace all knowledge. In other words, Cicero recognized the Greeks as artists, accomplished in literature, in the fine arts, men who supplied Rome with entertainment and instruction of various kinds. But his own personal feelings, his attitude to the Greek himself as a fellow-being, was not quite so detached. He admits their literary worth and artistic skill, but their morality seems to him sadly defective. They have great knowledge, but no sense of honor. In *Pro Flacco* 9 Cicero attacks their lack of respect for legal testimony:

...At quos testes? Primum dicam, id quod est commune, Graecos, non quo nationi huic ego unus maxime fidem derogem.... Verum tamen hoc dico de toto genere Graecorum: tribuo illis litteras, do multarum artium disciplinam, non adimo sermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam.... testimoniorum religionem et fidem numquam ista natio coluit, totiusque huiusce rei quae sit vis, quae auctoritas, quod pondus, ignorant....

If it be objected that this was one of Cicero's *ad hoc* statements, we may reply that we can read his own inmost feelings in his personal correspondence. He

³I question Dr. Wedeck's way of putting his thought here. I take exception especially to the word "Even". See remarks of Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, quoted in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 4.66, column 1, lower half. C. K.

⁴Pliny the Elder had no affection for the Greeks, although he softens his attacks on their doctors by his whimsical tone (*N. H.* 29.11): *Nec dubium est omnes istos famam novitate aliqua aucupantes anima statim nostra negotiari. Hinc illae circa aegros miserae sententiarum concertationes, nullo idem censente, ne videatur accessio alterius. Hinc illa infelicis monumenti inscriptio, turba se medicorum perisse... palamque est, ut quisque inter istos loquendo polleat, imperatorem ilico vitae necisque fieri.*

⁵Cato wrote thus to his son Marcus (Pliny, *N. H.* 29.14): *Quid Athenis exquisitum habeam et quod bonum sit illorum litteras inspicere, non perdiscere, vincam. Nequissimum et indocile genus illorum, et hoc puta vatem dixisse. Quandoque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet, tum etiam magis si medicos suos huc mittet. Iurarunt inter se barbaros necare omnes medicina.* No doubt he had a part in the expulsion from Rome of the Greek *rhetores*, in 161 B. C. Much later, Juvenal expressed the same feeling for things foreign in the sneering and hostile verses (3.67-68), *Rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine, et ceromatio fert nicteria collo.*

⁶He himself minimizes such efforts in these directions (*Ad Atticum* 12.52.3): *Ἀπὸ γράφα sunt: minore labore fiunt: verba tantum addero, quibus abundo.* <This is hardly to be taken seriously. C. K.>

counsels his brother (*Ad Quintum Fratrem* 1.1.16) not to become too friendly with the Greeks; he bares his feelings on the subject, expressing his frank and considered judgment about this people (I give Weissenborn's text):

...Atque etiam e Graecis ipsis diligenter cavendae sunt quaedam familiaritates praeter hominum paucorum, si qui sunt vetere Graecia digni: sic vero fallaces sunt permulti et leves et diuturna servitute ad nimiam adsentationem eruditi....

Greek studies progressively took a firm hold on Roman life. The Roman Senate was able to understand Greek ambassadors without the aid of an interpreter. In the latter days of the Republic a special brand of Hellenism exerted deep influence, when the Alexandrian School, the *cantores Euphorionis*⁷, with their masters Euphorion and Callimachus, spread that recondite and involved style that gave rise to the coterie of *docti poetae*, with Calvus, Cinna, and Cornelius among its high priests⁸.

At the outset, Greek philosophy fared rather badly. Cato calls Socrates a talker, while Ennius remarks of Greek metaphysics in general⁹: *Philosophia est mihi necesse, at paucis, nam omnino haud placet. Degustandum ex ea, non in eam ingurgitandum censeo*¹⁰. But later generations were not afraid of being engulfed. The Scipionic circle, the center of philosophical debate, attracted Panaetius of Rhodes. Diodotus the Stoic lived in Cicero's house. The Epicurean Philodemus was installed as the domestic philosopher of Lucius Piso. Stoicism became the creed of the educated Roman. Greek phases of religion altered the old native Roman beliefs. At the beginning of the Hannibalic War, a Greek cult was formally introduced into Rome. A festival was ordained to Apollo. The *Ludi Apollinares*, celebrated in 212 B. C., became a permanent institution in 208 B. C. Greek gods, brought to Rome, averted divers imminent evils. In 293 B. C., for example, the worship of Aesculapius was imported from Epidaurus, and a temple to him was dedicated in 291. Again, in 249 B. C., Dis and Proserpina were brought to the capital. Cults such as these were harmless, and were not looked upon with any disfavor by official Rome. But the cult of Bacchus, introduced by a Greek priest, attained such licentious extremes that the Senate passed, in 186 B. C., the famous *Consultum De Bacchanalibus*.

⁷One of their characteristics was a contempt for the native and older Latin literature. Cicero (*Tusculanae Disputationes* 3.44) quotes Ennius's lament of Andromache, *O pater, O patria, O Priami domus*, etc. (see Vahlen, *Ennius*², *Scaenica* 92-99), and then remarks (45): *O poetam egregium, quamquam ab his cantoribus Euphorionis contemnitur!*

⁸They were particularly fond of allusive references, obscure Greek mythology, special Greek rhythms and expressions. Some support was lent to them *a posteriori* by Quintilian (12.10.33) who is prepared to admit the superiority of the sonorous and mellifluous Greek: itaque tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior ut nostri poetae, quoties dulce carmen esse voverint, illorum id nominibus exornent.

⁹See John Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin*, page 312, verses 417-418 (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1874). Compare Vahlen², *Scaenica* 376-377.

¹⁰Compare Persius's general condemnation of foreign things, especially Greek philosophy, put in the mouth of his friend Bestius (6.37-40):

et Bestius urguet
doctores Graios: "Ita fit, postquam sapere urbi
cum pipere et palmis venit nostrum hoc maris expers:
fenisecae crasso vitiantur unguine pultes".

Social life, too, felt the stress and change. After the Punic Wars, Rome was thronged with foreigners, mostly Greek physicians. Archagathus, says Pliny (N. H. 29.1), was the first arrival, in 219 B. C. Asclepiades, Parthenius, Posidonius were distinguished practitioners. In some cases Rome was ready to acknowledge merit, but it sometimes happened that the newcomer would affect for his purpose an air of humility and servility. Aristodemus, author of *The Art of Flattery*, recommended himself by demonstrating that Homer was a native of Rome.

Human nature has a tendency to learn quickly what is less commendable. Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor, Ovid confesses through Medea (Met. 7.20-21), in his usual pithy way. The faults and the vices of the Greeks were rapidly cultivated¹¹. The satirist sees these things readily, and his stinging shafts do their work upon them. Lucilius saw how fatuous imitation of Greek customs and mannerisms was demoralizing the Roman and turning him into an effeminate fop¹²: Graecum te, Albuci, quam Romanum atque Sabinum... maluisti dici¹³. New verbs, *per-graecari*, *graeccissare*, 'to play the Greek', characterized this effeminacy. This indicates that not all that came from the Hellenic world was considered uniformly and instantly acceptable to Rome. Tibullus and Ovid, however, adopt respectful tones when they refer to foreign observances, ceremonials, peculiarities.

Horace too saw clearly that all was not for the best in this foreign domination. He saw the old Roman stock, the ancient virtues fast disappearing, and he condemned in no subdued terms not only what was Greek, but whatever was exotic, oriental, in a word anything that tended to break down Latin restraint and conservatism. Simple in his own tastes, able to say *est qui non curat habere* (Epistulae 2.2.182), happy in *modus agri non ita magnus* (Sermones 2.6.1), he looked rebukingly at the lavishness of the elaborate and luxurious life around him. The far-sought delicacies of the gourmet's table were not for him. *Persicos odi, puer, apparatus* (Carmina 1.38) was his answer to the pomp of satraps and the incense-laden Orient. When he does launch out against Greece, he condenses in pungent brevity the bitterness of his feelings, at least their intensity, upon seeing young Rome strutting around with perfumed locks and affected airs. We Romans are afraid of horseback-riding now, afraid of the chase. The hoop and the dice are good enough for us now (Carmina 3.24.54-58)¹⁴. In Carmina 3.3 he attacks the guileful eastern mind, represented, to many a contemporary Roman, by the enticing Cleopatra. She, too, seemed, to many, a *mulier peregrina*, a *Lacaena adultera*. Antony, with Cleopatra's aid, had planned to make Troy the capital of his new empire, which would have meant Rome's subjugation to the Greeks, a condition abhorrent and detestable to Horace, lover of his Sabine farm and the homeliness of the

Italian soil. So Propertius (3.2.31-32) hurls flaming epithets at Egypt's 'incestuous' queen: Coniugii obscaeni pretium Romana poposcit moenia, et addictos in sua regna patres. This *meretrix regina* aimed at imposing her strange gods upon the Romans. Lo! There she was advancing with dog-faced Anubis, to the sounding throb of the *sistrum*, and trying to impose her rule amid the arms of Marius! So hateful is she, so ominous her name, that a periphrasis must be used. Cleopatra therefore becomes *illa* and *femina*. There is only one 'femina' to Roman eyes. Cicero too impugns the veracity of Alexandria. It is the home of deceit. Compare Pro Rabirio 35: Audiebamus Alexandriam, nunc cognoscimus. Illinc omnes praestigiae, illinc, inquam, omnes fallaciae....

In appreciation of art, however, Livy (25.40.2) is ready to give credit to the year 212 B. C., the year of the taking of Syracuse. It became customary to carry off to Rome, as Marcellus did, the art treasures from conquered cities¹⁵. Furniture, utensils, houses, colonnades were all made after Greek models. M. Terentius Varro inveighs against this practice. 'A Roman nowadays', he cries (De Re Rustica 2.1), 'has such a fantastic craving for whatever originates from the Greeks that he will not own a villa unless every single room, every apartment, has its Greek nomenclature'. Athletics, entertainments, dress so extravagant as to require sumptuary laws all appealed to certain wealthy Romans, to parts of that upper, sophisticated stratum that was cosmopolitan in outlook and that has its descendants in the worshippers of, let us say, Paris fashions. Greece not only put the finishing touches to a Roman's education; it moulded that education, despite the edict of 161 B. C. forbidding Greek rhetoricians to live within Rome. Crates set up a school at Rome, and other schools were established for the study of the Greek poets, particularly Homer. A Roman child's nurse was usually Greek. The domestic *paedagogi* were Greek. Cultured families were bilingual¹⁶. Correspondence even among Romans was carried on in Greek, with the help of the *librarii ab epistulis Graecis*. As a crowning instance, behold Nero mouthing his Greek lines and passing triumphantly through the Greek cities, acting and singing in the new tongue.

Under the Empire, Juvenal has caught up the flaming torch from his prototype Cato. He rages against the foreign element that usurps positions in Rome. *Non est Romano cuiquam locus hic*, is the substance of his complaint in Satire 3.58-125. All the refuse of Asia drifts to the capital. Wily and shameless Greeks flatter and intrigue, parading in their queer dress, and the more simple Roman foolishly imitates their ways. It is unbearable, cries the satirist (3.60-61): Non possum ferre, Quirites, Graecam urbem....

¹¹Compare Sallust, *Bellum Catilinum* 11 (in reference to Sulla's Asiatic command): Ibi primum insuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa caelata mirari.

¹²Compare Pliny, N. H. 15.19: Graeci, vitiorum omnium genitores....
¹³Yet a peculiarity of many of his satires is their mixture of Greek and Latin.

¹⁴Verses 88-92 in Marx's edition.

¹⁵See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 22.61 with note 1. C. K. >.

¹⁶Things later reached such a pitch that Pliny the Younger can say (6.11) of two Roman children that they have a good Latin accent, *os Latinum*. Compare Quintilian 1.1.12: a Graeco sermone puerum incipere malo. Juvenal (6.187-188) sneers at Roman women for their Greek talk: omnia Graece, cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine....

The Greeks have all come here, every trade and every profession, from the four corners of the Greek world (3.69-78): grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes, augur, schoenobates, medicus, magus. . .

The *plebs* were, on the whole, little affected by this influence. They daily rubbed shoulders with Greeks and other races, and treated them as like human beings, showing no special resentment or affection. It was, however, in the upper reaches of social life, among the cultured and the *literati*, that either wholehearted intellectual assimilation took place, or else smouldering racial sentiments made bitter critics of men like Cato and Horace. The foreigner, it is true, had useful qualifications. He brought with him his share of gifts, but many a Roman might, himself, have said, Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes.

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REVIEWS

Indo-Germanische Grammatik. Teil I: Einleitung (Etymologie, Konsonantismus); Teil II: Der Indo-germanische Vokalismus; Teil III: Das Nomen; Teil IV: Doppelung, Zusammensetzung, Verbum. Heidelberg: Carl Winter (1927, 1921, 1927, 1928). Pp. XXXII + 350; XI + 256; XI + 360; VIII + 371.

Of Professor Hirt's very important work some account may be given here, even though the work is still incomplete. A fifth volume is to be expected in the near future. It will be entitled *Akzent*, but will treat what the older Grammars called 'Prosodia', that is, all the vocal features not designated in writing at the time of the coining of the term *prosodia*¹—such matters as pitch, stress, and syllable division. A sixth volume, to deal with syntax, is at least planned.

Professor Hirt's volumes follow the works of Bopp, Schleicher, and Brugmann as the fourth great presentation of our knowledge of Indo-European. Thinking of them in this setting, one may say, perhaps, that Professor Hirt's work differs in looking more definitely to the future. Its predecessors were, each in its day, garnering; the present work is seed for a future harvest. Professor Hirt sows from a full sack; it is only saying the obvious to predict that not all the seed will prove capable of yielding fruit a hundred fold. No one is more aware of that than the author, nor does the fact detract from the merits of the work. Here as elsewhere progress and error seem two irreconcilable creatures with their heads tied together by the gods, so that we can win one only at the cost of taking the other also.

To appreciate the bearing of Professor Hirt's work we must glance briefly at the development of the study of Indo-European grammar. Schleicher began the reconstruction of the Indo-European language, mingling in the process two lines of reasoning. Historical evidence (Sanskrit *senā*, 'army', non-Attic-Ionic *timā*,

Latin *equa*, Gothic *giba*, 'gift', etc.) pointed, he thought, to a nominative singular ending **-ā*. Similar evidence pointed to a nominative singular ending **-s* in various other classes of nouns. Philosophical reasoning had convinced Schleicher that this function could have been designated by but one ending, and that no loss of an ending could have taken place in Indo-European. He reconstructed, therefore, for nouns of this class an ending **-ās*.

The following period began with the great discoveries in Indo-European phonology that lead to the postulate of the invariability of phonetic law, and to a consequent appreciation of the importance of analogy and adaptation as factors in linguistic development. These, that had been regarded as modern diseases of language, were seen to be normal processes, operative everywhere, even in documents as venerable as Homer or the Rig Veda. It was a shock, and under it the philosophic speculations that had made agglutination supreme collapsed and made way for the view that in certain fundamentals the development of language is the same everywhere, and at all periods of time that can possibly come into question².

Applying this to the above illustration, we may reach two conclusions. (1) The invariability of phonetic law bars us from deriving either *senā*, or *timā*, or *equa*, or *giba* from Indo-European *-ās*; each points to **-ā*, and this must be accepted as the Indo-European form. (2) If the question be now raised whether Indo-European *-ā* came from a still earlier ***-ās*, the possibility of such a change in Pre-Indo-European is to be recognized, but only as one out of many possibilities³. Confronted with the difficulty of choosing between these, scholars decided to renounce a choice, to stop with the reconstruction of **-ā* and similarly attested forms, and to regard as necessary their acceptance as ultimate facts. Efforts to go further back were labelled 'glottogonic', and warnings of the dangers in them were issued repeatedly.

It was a hard saying. Anyone who has taught a beginners' class knows how spontaneously why-questions arise; and here were men trained to ask and answer such questions, confronted with hundreds of unexplained forms of Indo-European, and forbidden to say 'Why?'. Silence was kept generally, for it was self-imposed, and with evidently good reason; but from time to time the rule was broken, and Professor Hirt can point to more bits of glottogonizing by others in our accepted beliefs than is generally recognized.

Among those who have disregarded the glottogonic interdict Professor Hirt is easily the most conspicuous. He began with a volume that aimed at explaining the origin of the Indo-European accent instead of merely describing it, and followed with his famous work on Ablaut (vowel-variation in Indo-European),

¹That is, for all periods of which we have historical records, or which we can reconstruct on the basis of historical records. The 'origin' of language will lie thousands and thousands of years before the earliest of these, and is a problem approachable only by other kinds of reasoning.

²That rests upon the familiar misconception of the relation between speech and writing: in this view, the letters are the word, one pronounces them and 'sings in addition' other things.

³Professor Sturtevant is now suggesting, in *Language* 5 (1929), on Hittite evidence, that most nouns of this type have been abstracted from verbs in ***-ayeti*, by a process comparable with the formation of *pugna* from *pugnare*.

of which the second volume in this work is an improved edition. After various periodical articles, that need not be cited here, he now comes forward with a still more ambitious effort. The understanding of the ablaut makes it possible to classify Indo-European forms chronologically; with this as a clue, and with our clearer insight into linguistic processes we can make the attempt to trace the development of the Indo-European inflection. Such is Professor Hirt's present purpose. The idea is sure to meet with opposition; indeed one can already read, in the fourth volume of *Language*, Professor Petersen's strong dissent from Hirt's treatment of the noun. But one who has watched Hirt's theory of ablaut win its way from almost general rejection to almost general acceptance will be slow to forecast the outcome. One thing only seems certain: a ferment of new ideas has been injected into the study of Indo-European grammar, and it will be a decade or more before the effects can be judged adequately⁴.

It is in this stimulation that the greatest value of Professor Hirt's work will be found by the linguist; but he will derive from it other benefits, of which one must be mentioned. A science that is overshadowed by one book is in a dangerous position, and this has always been the case with Indo-European grammar. Views held by Brugmann are readily accessible in his *Grundriss*; they become more familiar and have a greater chance of acceptance simply because they are presented in that monumental work. But it is important for the welfare of the science that divergent opinions should have similar opportunities. In Professor Hirt many of them have found an able champion who will help us guard against the risk of gliding into a complacent orthodoxy.

In conclusion, the value of the work for the classical philologist must be stressed. For him both general linguistics and Indo-European grammar are matters of fundamental importance. Yet his opportunities in this country for training in either have been, and, in spite of recent very marked improvement, still are, deplorably meager. Those who have tried to make up for this deficiency by their own reading have frequently complained of the difficulties and lack of facilities encountered, and with good reason. True, there is, and can be, no royal road to these sciences any more than to any other; but it must be recognized that the approach has not been rendered as smooth as is desirable. To the improvement of this situation, it seems to me, Professor Hirt's work can contribute greatly. He has a wonderful skill in exposition, resting in part on the clarity of his style, in part on a gift for keeping the trees from hiding the forest. The first two hundred (small) pages of the work under review constitute in my opinion the best beginning for the philologist who

would make his way into linguistics; if he wishes to continue, he will find himself provided with a bibliography that is ample and very skillfully arranged. Furthermore, our school grammar is Ptolemaic; its tradition runs back to Alexandrian reflections upon Greek phenomena that have been well characterized as naive rather than scientific. To adapt the scheme to Latin some Procrustean manipulation was needed, and the process has been repeated for other languages, until the scheme has become a superbeing that dominates, or ought to dominate (so it is thought) all linguistic behavior. Emancipation is to be desired, and one who would win his way to it may well read some of the most glottogenic parts (be they right or wrong) of the work under review⁵. Professor Hirt's treatment of the verb and of gender attract me most⁶, while the other chapters on the noun leave me cold.

One warning must be added. Professor Hirt sees the forest, but not always the twigs. There are a number of misprints, so that at times one will be rewarded for checking the forms of unfamiliar languages.

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The Sumerians. By C. Leonard Woolley. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press (1928). Pp. xi + 198. \$2.50.

Mr. Woolley's book on *The Sumerians* is a popular book of the best type; the lay reader will find it fascinating and the student may learn from its every page. The author has himself brought to light many of the facts he records, but at no point does he indulge in polemic or intrude his own personality; the result is a balanced and lucid account of possibly the greatest accession which human knowledge has received in the past three generations.

In fewer than two hundred pages Mr. Woolley traces the history of the Sumerians from about 4000 B. C. to their final absorption by the Babylonians after 2000 B. C. The basis for his construction of this history consists of numerous inscriptions dating from the lower limit of time but recording the traditions of the earlier period, and of eloquent archaeological remains. The inscriptions are extensive and illuminating; they comprise numerous historical texts and hymns and the famous code of Hammurabi. Like the codes in the Pentateuch the code of Hammurabi deals with the intimate and commonplace details of life, and in conjunction with the archaeological remains renders possible a full and certain reconstruction of contemporary life.

Much of the archaeological material described was uncovered by Mr. Woolley himself, particularly during the season 1927-1928, though the fact is no-

⁴The new ideas will probably, indeed, have to submit to a severe and unforeseen testing, since in Hittite there has come to light, to employ a familiar metaphor, not another daughter, but a niece, of Indo-European. The exploitation of this fact, in which Professor Sturtevant is playing a conspicuous part, seems likely to carry the evidence of our historical reconstructions back another stage; if so, the results thus attained will serve as a check upon those reached by Hirt. It is another reason for suspending judgment.

⁵Good reading too, and perhaps likely to be missed are W. Kroll, *The Scientific Treatment of Syntax in the School Teaching of Latin*, *Proceedings of the <English> Classical Association* 25 (1928), 41-51, and E. Kruisinga, *English Grammar as She is Taught at Oxford*, *English Studies* 8 (1926), 181-185.

⁶There will be tangible profits, too: for instance, the syntax of the subjunctive gets its solution from the analysis of the forms.

where indicated by him in his book. Especially interesting are the beautifully wrought objects from the graves of King Mes-kalam-dug and Quen Shub-da, which are dated about 3500. The golden helmet figured in Plate 9 and the silver cow's head of Plate 13 are hardly equalled before fifth-century Athens.

A conservative yet convincing justification of the subject is given in the closing chapter, *The Claim of Sumer* (183-193). The Sumerian material is itself older than the oldest Egyptian material, and postulates a far longer development. But aside from antiquarian curiosity there is the demonstrable fact that the Sumerians exercised incalculable influence on the Babylonians and in scarcely less degree on the Assyrians; these imperialistic peoples spread and transmitted the Sumerian influence to the later peoples of the Near East, and thence to modern Europe. The arch, the dome, and the vault were familiar principles in Sumerian building. But a more obvious and direct influence is the effect on western civilization through the Hebrews. *Creation and Flood* were borrowed bodily by the Semites, and subsequently gained ethical relevance at the hands of the Hebrews. The Jewish religion was in contact with the Babylonian during the period of the Kings and the Captivity, and "partly by its precept and partly in opposition to it attained higher growth".

The classical student will be interested in the parallels to Herodotus, particularly in the matter of temple prostitutes (106-108). A cause of national decay familiar to the student of Roman history is given on pages 60-61:

...it <military specialization> substituted allegiance to the king's person for the old loyalty to the city-state, and it tended to enervate that burgher class which had once been the backbone of the city but was in these days of empire relegated to a second place and seldom called upon for active service or, if called upon, might be able to avoid service by money payments. The army of the Third Dynasty was probably much superior technically to that of the fourth millennium B. C., but the Sumerian state was by so much the weaker; it was the familiar story of military specialization and mercenary service leading to military decay.

Note also this statement (129):

...It would be interesting to compare Sumer and Akkad under the Third Dynasty of Ur with the Roman Empire of the third century when the state worship of the gods of Rome and of the *genius* of Augustus and the city was a profession of political loyalty empty of religious content, and men, if they believed, believed in other gods....

A word must be said for the splendid and numerous plates in Mr. Woolley's book, which make the moderate price surprising for an Oxford University Press product. A short bibliography should be added for those whose interest must certainly be awakened.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

MOSES HADAS

LUCRETIUS 5.883-885

Principio circum tribus actis impiger annis
florete ecus, puer hautquaquam, nam saepe etiam nunc
ubera mammarum in somnis lactantia quaeret.

The commentators overlook an apposite passage in a practically contemporary author which seems to indicate that three years was the normal period for nursing a child: II Maccabees 7.27... οὕτως ἔφησε τῇ πατρὶα ψωνῇ· ὑὸς ἐλήσων με τὴν ἐν γαστρὶ περιενέγκασάν σε μήνας ἐννέα, καὶ θηλάσασάν σε ἔτη τρία, καὶ ἐκθρέψασάν σε καὶ ἀγαθοῦσαν εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν ταύτην, καὶ τροφοφορήσασαν. If this passage is taken to prove that three years is the normal period, then *saepe etiam nunc* in Lucretius does not refer to a backward child or one necessarily in somnis; the emphatic expression contrasts the slow development of a child with the rapid development of a horse.

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MOSES HADAS

SENECA DE BENEFICIIS 3.26.1 AND MARTIAL 10.48.18-22

In *De Beneficiis* 3.26.1, Seneca writes as follows:

...Sub Tib. <erio> Caesare fuit accusandi frequens et paene publica rabies, quae omni civili bello gravius togatam civitatem confecit; excipiebatur ebriorum sermo, simplicitas iocantium; nihil erat tutum; omnis saeviendi placebat occasio, nec iam reorum expectabantur eventus, cum esset unus.

Seneca expresses in this passage his opinion of delation, which, as the late Professor S. Dill, terms it, "...became the curse of the Empire".² It is worth while to compare with this statement of Seneca a strikingly similar sentiment of Martial.

In 10.48 Martial invites his friends to a simple dinner. After an account of the courses he says (18-24):

...Saturis mitia poma dabo,
de Nomantana vinum sine faece lagona,
quae bis Frontino consule trima fuit.
Accedent sine felle ioci nec mane timenda
libertas et nil quod tacuisse velis:
de prasino conviva meus venetoque loquatur,
nec faciunt quemquam pocula nostra reum.

Professor E. Post (*Selected Epigrams of Martial*, New York, Ginn and Company, 1908) comments upon this passage as follows:

M. <artial> is thinking of the dangers that beset men under rulers like Tiberius and Domitian, when innocent remarks of a private conversation were purposely misconstrued and when traps were set to tempt men to utter words that turned out to be their death-warrants (see on 1.27.6-7). It is instructive to find M. <artial> talking under Nerva as if such dangers still threatened men.

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¹I quote from the text of C. Hosius (Teubner, Leipzig, 1924).
²Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, 35 (New York, Macmillan, 1905).

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